

any endangered point within a few hours. From all sides, tanks would roll toward the threatened coast, and trains and trucks would move up new German divisions.

* * *

In discussing here in such detail the deliberations of the Allied command and the possibilities of an invasion of Europe from the south, we do not wish to create the impression that the Axis is limited to the defensive. This is not the case. The Axis is free to decide how it wishes to employ its southern flank. Thus, for instance, the strong position of the Axis in the eastern Mediterranean and its possibility of advancing via Cyprus against Syria are causing the Allies anxiety and forcing them to take counter-measures.

We should like to state here that we oppose the idea of considering Europe a "fortress." The term "fortress" implies a very limited area which leaves no freedom of movement to the defender and

restricts him to using up his stores of ammunition and food. However, the parts of Europe under Axis control (i.e., excluding the British Isles, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, and Turkey) cover some 4,500,000 square kilometers, that is, ten times the size of Germany in 1937. Here the Axis possesses many millions of experienced soldiers and, as a report from Berlin stated a few days ago, an army of about 150 million male and female workers. Here there are tens of thousands of factories working. Here is a close-meshed, efficient network of railways, motor roads, and waterways. Here from month to month the ideal of a new, united Europe is being consolidated.

This Europe is not a fortress but a fighting and working continent. What it means to fight this continent on its own soil has been experienced by the huge armies of the Soviet Union during the last two years and would also be discovered by the British and American troops if they should try to attack it.

A CHANGE IN METHODS

By A. V. DERINGER

Exactly two years ago, along the German-Soviet border, the largest land war in history began. The issue was Bolshevism, which had made the Russian people its tool and thrown a dangerous net over the world. In our article "The Red Road" (November 1942) we analyzed the first six phases of the history of the Comintern (Communist International) up to that time. The recent liquidation of the Comintern has opened a new phase, one which requires examining. This has been done by A.V. Deringer, an expert with years of experience in the struggle against World Bolshevism, who presents his views on three important questions: the attitude of Bolshevism and the Comintern toward war in general; their attitude toward the present war; and finally, the so-called dissolving of the Comintern.
—K.M.

THE final aim of Bolshevism is World Revolution. This has been frankly said by its leaders many times (we quote one of many statements to this effect at the end of this article). The short cut, if not the prerequisite, of World Revolution is war. Itself born out of the chaos of the Great War, Bolshevism has always hoped to benefit, if not succeed in reaching its goal, by a new war. And the bigger that war the better. "In the case of a world war the

World Revolution will break out sooner. No one will then succeed in stopping the spring torrent of revolution," wrote the main organ of the Comintern, the *Kommunistisches International* in its issue No. 5 of 1939.

War was the means by which it was hoped to break up the "bourgeois-capitalistic" world and to create a "revolutionary atmosphere." War was the outstanding issue in the minds of Bol-

shevist leaders. This was, for example, clearly stated at the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern, in 1928 (Vol. I, p.600, of the stenographic report): "All other problems are subordinated to the central problem . . . , the problem of war The Communists must strain every effort toward preparing themselves for the solution of this practical question."

Thus Bolshevism is in truth, as Lenin once stated in a solemn speech, "a war which we have declared on the whole world."

WARS AND WARS

However, not every war was welcome to Bolshevism. The ideal war for Moscow was what it likes to call an "imperialistic war," i.e., a war between several bourgeois or "Fascist" states without participation of the Soviet Union, a war in which non-Bolshevist states weaken each other, thereby promoting the above-mentioned "revolutionary atmosphere" within themselves.

But another type of war—in Moscow's terminology a "war of intervention against the USSR"—was the constant nightmare of the Bolsheviks.

The speeches, resolutions, and writings of the Third International show clearly that the Kremlin always regarded such a war as inevitable. "They [i.e., the capitalistic states] are systematically preparing for it. They are preparing for it with every possible means. They are preparing for it at every hour." These are the nervous closing words of the "Manifesto of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern to all the workers of the world, to all peasants, to all suppressed colonial peoples, to all the soldiers and sailors of the capitalistic armies and navies."

Moscow courted the sympathy of foreign workers and peasants, not only in the sense that it needed this sympathy in order to prevent a war of intervention, but also in the reverse sense: the Comintern has fostered the myth of the war of intervention in order to conquer the sympathy of the foreign labor classes.

At the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Stalin said :

We must not forget Lenin's words that, as regards our development, much depends on whether we shall succeed in postponing the inevitable war with the capitalistic world. This war can be postponed either until the proletarian revolution has matured in Europe, or until the outbreak of a revolution in the colonies, or also until the moment when the capitalists start a war against each other over the partition of the colonies.

The political changes in Germany in 1933, as well as the conclusion of the Anti-Comintern Pact, were regarded as serious omens of approaching decisions. The resolution of the Thirteenth Plenary Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Comintern contains the words: "This war must come, sooner or later."

Its nature is revealed to us by one Triandalov in his publication *The Aims and Tasks of the Soviet State*, which appeared in the series "Instructions for Political Commissars in Wartime" (Moscow, 1935):

The war of the Communist State against any capitalistic state whatever will be of a class-revolutionary nature.

"FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF WAR"

This is not the place to study the methods by which the Red Army prepared its forces for this war. Instead, we shall follow another line of preparation which was carried on outside the purely military sphere.

In the book *On Guard for Our Country* by Rabinovitch (Moscow, 1936, p.170) we find the following quotation by Stalin:

The bourgeoisie can be assured that in the case of war our numerous friends, distributed all over the world, will attack its rear and help to complete the victory of the Red Army.

In the October 1934 issue of the large Moscow periodical *Voina i Revoliutsia*, in an article on "The Nature of the Future War" by Amigarov, the functions of these "numerous friends" are explained more clearly :

A war of the capitalistic states against the USSR will impose upon the international proletariat, chiefly the class-conscious part of the laborers of those states that are waging war upon us, the functions of a landing corps of the Red Army, a landing corps destined to break up our opponents from within. In the history of war

this will be the first case in which one of the belligerent powers has in all countries of the world, even the hostile ones, hundreds of thousands of supporters organized in the Communist Party.

"HOW DO YOU KNOW THAT, COMRADE?"

What distinguishes the Soviet theory of strategy is the plan to correlate the actions of the Red Army at the front with the organizing of armed uprisings and of civil war behind the back of the opponent, at his rear and in his own country. Before the present war a high Soviet officer once stated :

The future war will be lost by that country in which armed mass uprisings take place first. These revolts will take place first in the rear of those armies which are in retreat. For that reason the Red Army must always be on the offensive.

The achievement of these political goals is too closely connected with purely military problems for it to be dealt with quite separately. Hence the Red Army, especially its political leaders and the officers' corps, was exhaustively trained for all problems arising from the employment of troops in the enemy's rear or on enemy soil. This training was not limited to purely military aspects: it was also extended to fields which no other army in the world includes in this way in the sphere of military training.

This training was well organized and carried out under the supervision of a specially qualified teaching staff. The major part of these teachers had been prepared by spending many years abroad, so that each man knew every detail of the country to which he was assigned.

After a general survey of the geographical and ethnographical aspects of the country in question, there followed a detailed study of its domestic political situation. The subjects included: social tension, the attitude of national minorities toward the state, religious conflicts, etc. All these questions were not dealt with according to a fixed pattern or in passing, but traced to their very roots, so that the leaders of the Red Army who were thus trained would, even under changed conditions, be enabled to make their own decisions. And special attention was devoted to the possibilities of exploiting

any sympathy for the Soviet Union that might arise among certain circles or sections of the people under every imaginable political constellation. Of course, particular attention was paid to the relationship between its officers and men.

"How do you know all that, Comrade?" was once the question asked by amazed Red officers when their instructor told them some astounding details about the internal events in a neighboring country. With an ironical smile, the instructor answered: "We know the names, the family affairs, and all details about the personal affairs of every single Polish officer from the rank of colonel upward." Even though this observation may seem in itself unimportant, it is nevertheless characteristic of the manner in which this work was carried on.

When one asks as to the source from which the High Command of the Red Army is able to obtain such information regarding the internal affairs of foreign countries, one must bear in mind the close contact existing between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties throughout the world. Besides the actual Communist Parties, numerous associations and organizations all over the world—whether purely Communistic, semi-Communistic, or belonging to the so-called Popular Front—were, in one way or another, invisibly included in the vast network collecting news and information for the Soviet Union. And this was done under such skillful camouflage that to this day the world knows surprisingly little about it.

AID FROM THE ENEMY

In order not to be politically isolated in this inevitable conflict with the rest of the world, Moscow strained every effort to find allies. This seemed a bold and difficult undertaking after having at first hurled open challenges at the whole world and after having declared every country to be an enemy of the USSR.

"It is no Utopian scheme to force our enemies to help us in a very definite manner," the late Krassin once stated at a Party Congress. Such a policy, he

continued, "must be based on emphasizing the contrasts in the enemy camp, in stirring up greed, in inciting our enemies against each other; and all this on an international scale as well as within the borders of each country."

Some concessions, mostly of a superficial nature, which had to be made, hardly affected the Comintern. After all, one of its most important rules says that its *Weltanschauung* and the program of the Communist Party are dogmatic, whereas, in the case of its strategy and tactics, there is no dogma but solely what serves the struggle.

Now began a tireless, all-embracing propaganda in the democratic countries which was not without success. In March 1939, at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, Manuilsky, the Secretary of the Comintern and a member of its Executive Committee, announced the following figures on the growth of the Party during the preceding five years (*Pravda*, 11.3.39):

	1934	1939
France	40,000	270,000
England	6,000	18,000
Canada	8,000	16,000
Cuba	3,000	23,000
Mexico	2,000	30,000
Switzerland	8,000	19,000
Denmark	3,000	90,000
USA	20,000	90,000

At that time, the total number of registered members of the Comintern throughout the world, not including the USSR, amounted to 1,200,000. During the same period, the membership of the Communist youth organizations outside of the USSR rose from 110,000 to 746,000. Thus in 1939 the Comintern had roughly two million registered supporters outside of Russia. In addition to this, its direct influence also extended over four million members of Communist labor unions.

For the carrying out of its actions, the Comintern could dispose, in addition to its own Party organizations, over numerous other parties and groups in the democratic countries. As in the case of the Popular Front as such, the entire activity in these countries was for Moscow not an end but only a means.

The real aim was to harm or, if possible, even destroy those states which, as a matter of principle, were hostile to Communism and later openly admitted their ideological opposition in the Anti-Comintern Pact.

While the Comintern thus worked at its world-wide network, the Soviet Union was feverishly developed into the "Basis of World Revolution" with its armament industry and Red Army. At the Seventh Congress (1935), Stalin was already able to show the Communists of all the world quite a fair apparatus for subjecting the world by Communism.

A NEW SITUATION ARISES

The complete change in the political situation of the world arising from the signing of the German-Soviet Treaty of August 1939 as well as from the outbreak of the war in Europe was quickly taken into consideration by the Comintern. Some indications as to how this was done are offered by the German Government's note declaring war on the Soviet Union. It contains the following passage:

Contrary to all obligations assumed and in gross violation of solemn declarations . . . attempts at subversive actions have been not only continued but even increased. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty, the Comintern resumed its activities in all fields. In order not to transgress the treaties openly, only the methods were changed and the camouflage carried out with more care and cunning.

Further details are contained in the report of the German Ministry of the Interior in the *First Documents Concerning the Events Leading to the German-Soviet War*:

In the areas occupied by Germany there were still some remnants of the former Communist organizations, which greatly facilitated the work of the Comintern there. Constant observation showed that the agencies of the Comintern in the European countries were again being greatly enlarged . . . Thus there is a main agency in Stockholm. This is one of the most active and dangerous centers of the Comintern. Communist functionaries are employed here who have received years of training in Moscow . . . By skillfully worked out courier routes, material, orders, and funds were constantly obtained from the Comintern instructors in Stockholm and Copenhagen. This activity was headed by the representative of the European bureau of the Comintern in Stockholm, the Communist member of the Swedish Parliament Lindroth . . . Communist functionaries from the Protectorate [formerly Czechoslovakia] regularly visited the Lenin School in Moscow

during the last few years, where they received a military-political training in the theory and practice of civil war and terrorism. The agent for this was the Tass correspondent Kurt Beer. In addition to this there was also a direct wireless connection with the Comintern in Moscow

Besides the ship-sabotage groups formed by England by the order of the Secret Service, there also existed a more widespread terror organization established by the Comintern, whose main task it was to destroy the ships of the states allied in the anti-Comintern bloc. . . . The Communist sabotage groups in Holland, Belgium, and France were headed by the Dutch Communist Josef-Rimbertus Shaap, who presided over the "Interclub" in Rotterdam and maintained the closest possible relations with the leaders of the Comintern organization in Scandinavia.

This ambiguous attitude on the part of the Soviet Union led to the outbreak of the German-Soviet war.

WHEN WAR CAME

On June 22, 1941, the crucial moment had come when the USSR became involved in war. Now the development was to take place "for the first time in the history of war" for which the Comintern had worked for so many years: the millions of supporters of Bolshevism were to rise in the enemy countries.

But nothing of the kind happened. In the Axis countries, Communism had been stamped out, partly by force but mainly through the appeal of the superior ideas of National-Socialism and Fascism. Those states which had once been the most pronounced exponents of the Popular Front in Europe, most of which had at the same time been allied to the Soviet Union, had undergone a thorough change by the time the war of Europe against the Soviet Union broke out. Czechoslovakia no longer existed. Most of the former leaders of the Popular Front in France were under arrest in Ryon and were awaiting their trial. The Red and "pink" functionaries of Spain, too, were scattered between Marseilles and Mexico. Almost the entire continent of Europe was closed to Bolshevik agitation. Hence Moscow was forced to seek for other companions with whom to establish a new popular front that corresponded to the changed conditions. This it did with its usual energy. In particular, the Kremlin turned its attention toward the USA.

"The United States of America is the worst enemy of the Soviet Union!" the first president of the Comintern had once exclaimed. This was in the days when America consistently refused to recognize the Soviet Union, in the days when the American Secretary of State, Kellogg, stated on April 14, 1928, in a solemn declaration:

Current developments demonstrate the continued persistence at Moscow of a dominating world-revolutionary purpose and the practical manifestation of this purpose in such ways as render impossible the establishment of normal relations with the Soviet Government.

In fact, the United States was the last of the great powers to recognize the Soviet regime, not granting this recognition until 1933, after F. D. Roosevelt became President. Under Roosevelt, Moscow's efforts fell upon fertile soil.

NEW FORCES AND SUPPORTERS

The lead among the new sympathizers of the Soviet Union has been taken by President Roosevelt and his wife. The First Lady of the USA is busy giving and visiting tea parties to which numerous students, delegates, and other representatives of the Soviet state are invited, not to mention the Red diplomacy. This indefatigable lady has also accepted honorary presidencies and sponsorships of all kinds of Marxist associations and organizations with many millions of members.

President Roosevelt himself makes use of every opportunity to express his sympathy and best wishes for his Red allies by participating personally in pro-Soviet meetings or, if this is impossible, by sending telegrams. Moreover, he lets deeds follow upon words. Thus it was owing to his personal intervention that the inhospitable gates of Atlanta jail were opened in order to give the American Communist leader Earl Browder his full liberty, and this three whole years earlier than was provided for in the sentence he was given for passport forgery. And General Eisenhower received orders from Roosevelt to the effect that all Communists should immediately be released

from prison in whatever parts of Africa his soldiers might occupy.

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union, Vice-President Wallace of the United States declared that, a quarter of a century before, the Communists had started an experiment "for the achievement of human welfare." He also expressed the hope that the Comintern would complete this experiment after the successful termination of the present war.

The member of Congress Martin Dies, who can hardly be accused of Fascist leanings, discovered on the basis of documents that in the highest places of the Federal Government in Washington there were more than 200 officials who were registered members of the Communist Party. United States radio transmitters reported in October 1941 that approximately 100 Government officials had been convicted of subversive Communist activities. Of these officials, 45 were employed in the War Department and 40 in the Navy Department.

The press, the radio, the movies, and the theater—all adjusted themselves to the newly awakened interest in Bolshevism and made every effort to satisfy this thirst for knowledge on the part of the public. Even in the US Army, books on the Soviet Union are so much in demand that many new Soviet works have been translated and published.

All doors hitherto closed to the Communists now opened wide. A particularly fertile field of agitation are the millions of underprivileged Negroes. The AFL, the largest American labor union, which had formerly avoided all contact with Communist organizations, was obliged to agree to collaborate with the USSR federation of labor unions. Mr. Carrey, boss of the electro-industry and radio workers' union, was expelled from office for submitting a bill which condemned not only Fascism but also Communism.

In return, the American Communists now began to speak a different language, which culminated in the grotesque phrase,

"Communism is twentieth-century Americanism."

"ENGLAND FALLS IN LOVE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA"

These were the words with which the American weekly *Life* characterized the present attitude in London. It is a late love of old John Bull, who in former years had very different feelings for the present choice of his heart. We quote only two examples. In 1919 no other than the present Prime Minister of England exclaimed:

The Communists are doing satanic deeds. Hundreds of thousands of people are being tortured to death with cold-blooded cruelty. This cannot even be compared with the cruel persecutions of Christians in Rome. The Communists do not even condemn people to death—they simply annihilate them.

Regardless of this, the labor Government of our country stretches out both hands and heartily shakes the bloodstained hands.

Old spirit of proud Albion—where art thou?

And in 1930:

Communism is like a disease that approaches a weakened organism in order to destroy. What healthy organism would be prepared to undergo an experiment with a disease of that kind?

This would be equivalent to keeping a terrible cobra in one's house instead of a lap dog.

Life reports that meanwhile scarves bearing the hammer and sickle have become the latest fashion in England, and that the Soviet Ambassador has been made an honorary member of the exclusive St. James's Club.

Last year a Lenin monument was solemnly unveiled in the London district of Finsbury, the first of its kind in Europe outside of Russia. The British Ministry of Education is working at a great plan "for the deepening of mutual understanding between Great Britain and the USSR," in the course of which seminaries have already been opened for English schoolteachers to study the Soviet Union, while works by Lenin and Stalin are being translated and published for schoolchildren, and deputations of British youth organizations and universities are being sent to Moscow.

The British Communist Party, which a few years ago had to fight hard and

often unsuccessfully for any perceptible influence on British policy, began to harvest rich fruits as soon as the official alliance with Moscow was proclaimed. Not only the radio but also Reuter's agency began to report in detail on all measures and meetings of the Communist Party. The Communist leader Pollit was even able, in an address over the BBC, to tell the British that it was time for them to stop only admiring the Soviets and that they should now try to follow their example. The lifting of the ban on the Party organs *The Daily Worker* and *The Week* contributed toward the general trend. Countless Bolshevik pamphlets, posters, pictures, books, and statistics are flooding England and increase Communist influence on the masses.

"Tremendous sums of money are being spent for Communist purposes in England, and nobody knows where the money is coming from," declared the *Labor Press Service*, an organ of the British Labor Party early in April. "When indulging in their propaganda activity, Communists are like busy bees. They can be met everywhere in the British armament industry, and their influence in Labor circles increases from day to day," the *News Chronicle* added at about the same time.

Exhibitions organized by the Soviet Ambassador are visited by the highest officials and leading members of society. The extent to which the Anglican Church, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, has let itself be drawn into the great flood of propaganda is characterized by a caricature in the *News Chronicle*: an English clergyman is shown kneeling before a crucifix on an altar decked with the flag of Moscow with its Soviet symbols of hammer and sickle.

The War Ministry permitted military bands to play the *International* "wherever this might appear desirable or suitable." The leaders of the British armed forces were faced by the ticklish problem, on the one hand, of arousing in the men a friendly feeling toward their Soviet ally, and on the other, of guarding them against Communist infiltrations. Ap-

parently this latter intention was sacrificed, for early in May the British Minister of War declared in the House of Commons that soldiers in uniform were allowed to attend Communist meetings.

The establishment of Soviet consulates at numerous places of the British Empire, which Churchill had to concede, was immediately utilized by Moscow for purposes of agitation, as became apparent from the complaints made by Dr. Malan, the South African nationalist leader. It was also recently discovered that the transfer of Polish refugees from the USSR via Iran to Africa is being used by the Soviets. By putting agents of their own among the refugees, they have managed to get them into Africa.

PLAYING WITH FIRE

Since the former European citadels of Leftism have by now almost all turned into the opposite, Moscow had to look for new bases among the few remaining neutral countries. The most important for this purpose was Sweden, chiefly because Sweden is the only state on the European Continent in which the Communist Party still exists and its publications still appear. The results of this activity became apparent in the last elections, held in autumn 1942, when the Communists doubled their votes.

The sensational arrest of the manager of the Stockholm Intourist Bureau brought to light an extensive Soviet espionage and propaganda organization in the Swedish Army. Soviet propaganda made skillful use of Sweden's neutrality and prospered under the ambiguous attitude of the Government.

Even in far-off Iceland, which had been occupied by USA forces, the communal elections in the capital also resulted in a doubling of the Communist votes so that the Communist Party became the second largest one in that country.

At the very gates of Spanish Morocco the Anglo-Saxon invaders of North Africa released all the Spanish Reds hitherto interned there, and the American Commander in Chief General Eisenhower gave

a solemn reception to the former Red Spanish chief Juan Negrin, who had arrived in Oran with American aid. Thus, by the common effort of the Anglo-American-Soviet allies, the Spanish Popular Front of the civil war is being re-established on North African soil. Even in South America, increasing symptoms of Bolshevization are to be found.

The Bolshevik internationalists have turned around and begun to appeal to the national, patriotic feelings of the various peoples. The main organ of the Comintern, the *Kommunistichesky International*, for example, wrote in its issue No. 8 of 1941 :

In all countries the Communists and Young Communists are at their fighting posts in the patriotic front of liberty of the peoples. The Young Communists of all countries are the most loyal fighters for national freedom . . . In France the Communists and the supporters of General de Gaulle have already united their forces in many places. This is the correct path.

Additional proof of this collaboration of De Gaulle with the Communists was recently provided by the fact that De Gaulle sent to Moscow as his diplomatic representative Fernand Grenier, a former Communist deputy. For the benefit of the Balkan peoples, the Kremlin is meanwhile warming up the old Pan-Slavism.

WHY WAS THE COMINTERN DISSOLVED?

The more successful the Communists were at making use of the war situation in the countries of the anti-Axis camp for their own purposes, the more were those people seized by anxiety who in these countries, in spite of war and propaganda, had retained their common sense. They wondered whether this alliance with the USSR had not actually brought a "Trojan horse" with all its mortal dangers into their midst, the same Trojan horse which the Comintern leader Dimitroff recommended so eloquently at the last World Congress as the best method of infiltration. The discovery of the Polish officers' bodies in the forest of Katyn must have opened the eyes of many to the menace of Bolshevism and must have recalled to their minds the terrible list of Com-

munist outrages throughout the world—during the rule of Bela Kun in Hungary, during the Civil War in Spain, at the time of the Communist regime in Kiangsi, and in countless other parts of the globe. More and more people in the Allied camp had to ask themselves: "Are we doing the right thing?"

The result was that Roosevelt and Churchill began to seek for means to allay the growing apprehension in their own camp. The best solution was to get Stalin to make a great gesture. And Stalin was willing. After the terrible battles of the winter war, the Soviet Union was bleeding from many wounds, was suffering from starvation and a lack of weapons, and needed more urgently than ever the relief which a second front would offer. In return for aid, Moscow was not averse to making this great gesture in the form of the so-called dissolving of the Comintern.

STALIN COULD AFFORD IT

Stalin was all the more able to afford this since Bolshevism had for many years been setting up parallel organizations which, like the Comintern, embraced the revolutionary movements of the world, and which were not affected by the dissolution. Among these are :

The Profintern (International of Professional Unions, i.e., trade unions)

The Communist Women's International

The MOPR (International Organization for the Aid of Workers)

The VOKS (Society for Cultural Connections with Abroad)

The League of the Friends of the Soviet Union

The International League of Proletarian Atheists

In addition, Moscow had in the course of the last few years found an entirely new and promising weapon through the establishment of Communist "governments" which were maintained in the Soviet Union, outside of the countries "governed" by them, and were recognized by Moscow. Among these were the Finnish "government" of Kuusinen and the "governments" of other Baltic states. At present the Kremlin seems to be heading for the creation of a Polish and

a Yugoslavian "government" on Soviet soil. These maneuvers have given Stalin entirely new possibilities, quite independent of the Comintern, of interfering in foreign nations.

Thus the publication of the proposal for dissolving the Comintern came about on May 22. This document is signed by the members of the presiding council of the EKKI. How tremendously the world has changed in the last few years can be seen from the fact that, with the exception of the Soviet Union, in none of the countries represented in the presiding council, such as Germany, France, Italy, Finland, Rumania, etc., do there still exist Communist Parties as political realities.

THE CONSEQUENCES

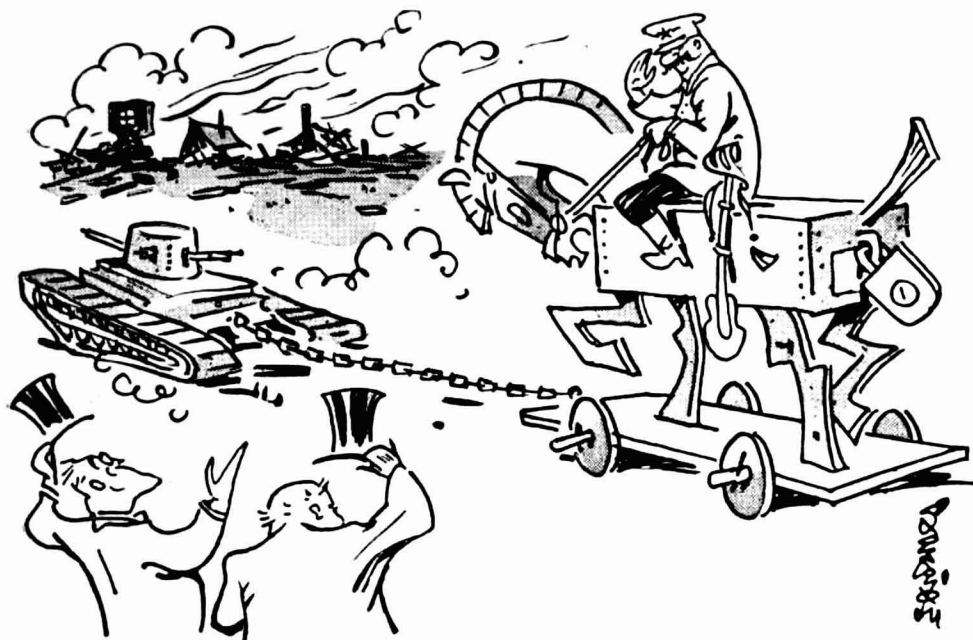
In the eyes of keen observers this dissolution entails a loss of face for Stalin. It shows that his position today is so

bad that he is forced formally to give up one of the most important instruments of World Revolution. However, the dissolution does not mean any loss of actual power for him.

The Comintern had two main tasks to perform: on the one hand, to prepare the World Revolution by creating the "revolutionary atmosphere," and on the other, to keep the Allies at war against the anti-Bolshevist Axis powers. As to the first task, the present war itself is working largely toward it. For under the influence of the war—its deprivations and hardships, its chaos in the field of prices and wages, its destruction of the customary social and economic structure—discontent with existing conditions, in other words the "revolutionary atmosphere," is growing in the Allied countries. And as for the second task, the Communist Parties are, even without any formal connection with

CARTOON OF THE MONTH

By SAPAJOU



Riding the Trojan Horse

Moscow, still as capable of carrying this out as they were before May 22. The example of the USA has shown this.

The Communist Party of the USA resigned from the Comintern in 1940 in order to avoid possible dissolution on account of un-American activities, against which laws were then being passed in Washington. No special significance was attached to this resignation at the time, and even careful newspaper readers hardly remember it today. In spite of this step, the Communist Party of the USA continued to work tirelessly for Moscow's aims.

This goes to show how little it matters whether a Communist Party belongs to the Comintern or not, as long as it represents the spirit of Moscow. "We cannot trust the temporary change of tactics of the revolutionaries," the *Journal de Genève* stated on May 30, when announcing that the Swiss Communist Party would remain banned in spite of the disbandment of the Comintern,

"for the only thing we know is that the final aims of the Reds have not changed." The British Labor Party has taken the same skeptical attitude. In the motion, refusing a merger of the Labor and Communist Parties and adopted by a majority of 17:2 on May 28, the Executive Committee of the Labor Party stated:

The dissolution of the Comintern is by no means tantamount to the dropping of world revolutionary aims.

The fact that the so-called dissolving of the Comintern represents, not a change in Bolshevism, but solely a change in its methods, is even admitted in the statement of the presiding council of the EKKI published on May 22; and we cannot conclude our survey better than with the following quotation from it, which clearly proves the opportunistic character of the dissolution:

"The Communists always subordinated the methods of work to the political interests of the Labor movement in general, to the specific historical conditions, and to the tasks dictated by existing conditions."

The Words of Two Experts

"We are sometimes accused of changing our Communist principles. What stupidity and blindness! We would not be Marxist revolutionaries, Leninists, not the pupils of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, were we not able completely to alter our tactics and our actions according to circumstances. But all the detours of our tactics lead to only one goal: World Revolution!"

*Dimitroff, Secretary General of the Comintern,
at the Seventh World Congress in 1935
(Stenographic Record, p. 1846).*

"Britain and the United States cannot destroy Europe by Bolshevism, but their own peoples will sooner or later succumb to this world pest."

*Chancellor Hitler
in his proclamation of January 1, 1943.*